

5.
REFLECTIONS

ON THE

PRESENT COMMOTIONS

IN

B E N G A L.



L O N D O N :

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REFLECTIONS

ON THE

PRESBYTERIAN COMMOTIONS

B. F. N. G. A. L.



LONDON

Printed by G. K. ...

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REFLECTIONS

ON THE PRESENT COMMOTIONS

BENGAL

THE present commotions in Bengal appear to have had their rise from the misconduct of the Company's servants abroad, and the directors at home.

When Lord Clive left Bengal in January 1760, this was the political state of that country.

Our alliance with the Nabob Jaffier Aly Chan was in its utmost force; it had now existed for three years, in the course of which we had rendered him very signal services, some efforts towards independency excepted: we had no breach of treaty to complain of on his part; our future connections promised the utmost harmony, as the treaty made in 1757 was now nearly compleated; the countries engaged to us would consequently be delivered up to him; he would then be in full possession of the whole; all cause of jealousy

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would

would cease, and the Company would have only their mercantile interests to attend to.

Our national character throughout the whole empire was respected and admired; our fidelity to Mohammed Aly in the Carnatic, to those allies who had assisted us in Colonel Ford's Expedition, and above all to Jaffier Aly Chan, to Ramnaran, the Deputy Nabob of the province of Bahar, and to Roydullub the prime minister. To Jaffier Aly Chan we stood engaged to support him in the Soubahship against all his enemies; to the Second, to preserve him in his honour, fortune, and government as long as he continued true in his allegiance to his master the Nabob; to the last, preservation of life and honour, as long as his behaviour merited our protection.

The battles we had fought in behalf of Mir Jaffier sufficiently evinced the truth of our attachment to him.

With respect to Ramnaran, we had both given and received mutual proofs of sincerity; and this with such advantage, that Lord Clive, relying on him to move at his orders, dared the last year to send away two thirds of our force to attack the French in the Deccan, and left only 300 men in Bengal; nor was he deceived.

Roydullub having incurred the Nabob's jealousy and displeasure by his partiality to us, the Nabob would have put him to death; but twice he owed his preservation to us; and when we found the Nabob irreconcilable, we brought him, his family, and effects to Calcutta; and I will venture to affirm there was not a Deputy Nabob, Rajah, or great man in the Soubah's dominions, that would not have risked his life in our hands.

Our military reputation was in its greatest lustre, by victories over French, Dutch, and natives, unsullied by the least check or breach of faith. The force left by Lord Clive was far greater than had been seen

seen that country since the battle of Plassey ; and no enemy to contend with, but the Shahzada, the Mogul's son, who had never dared to make a stand against us, but fled before an army of half the strength of the one then ready to take the field under the conduct of Colonel Caillaud, who had commanded on many occasions in the Carnatic with distinguished reputation.

Such was the happy situation in which Lord Clive left the English affairs in Bengal ; and yet in a few months, a confusion bordering on anarchy, productive of urgent necessities, was pleaded in justification of deposing Mir Jaffier, totally subverting the whole political system, and Ramnaran was given up to chains, and I believe to death.

A total deviation from the wise maxims by which the English had justly obtained so great a reputation produced this fatal reverse.

The Shahzada, now indeed nominal Mogul, his father having been deposed and murdered by the Vizir, entered the province of Bahar in the month of January, in the same manner as the preceding year ; and our army, consisting of 500 Europeans, joined by 8000 horse and 5000 foot, under the command of Meorum, the Nabob's son, took the field in January, and began their march towards the enemy. Ramnaran, thinking himself equal to the contest alone, and probably ambitious to recommend himself by his bravery, hazarded a battle ; but a part of his army deserting to the enemy, he was defeated, himself very much wounded, and his life preserved by the brave efforts of a body of four hundred of our Seapoys, of whom the far greatest part were cut to pieces in covering his retreat. Our army and that of the Nabob now approached the enemy, and after remaining three days in sight of each other, the third the enemy got round us, and attacked the young Nabob, pressing him so close that he was wounded ; and on the moment of

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defeat.

defeat, when a battalion of our Seapoys attacked the enemy and put them to flight, without the Europeans having any opportunity to act. Instead of pressing on the enemy, keeping up the panick, and preventing their rallying, we halted six days at Patna; the seventh the Shahzada made a forced march, passed us, and pushed for the passes; which could he have reached before our troops, the province of Bengal would have been exposed to him, without any possibility of our obstructing him. Having a fleet of boats on the Ganges, we embarked some of our troops, and secured the passes, while the rest of our army, joined by the young Nabob's, followed the prince by land; who finding himself in danger of being cooped up between two armies, struck over the mountains, hitherto thought impassable even for a letter-carrier, and after a painful march of fifteen days, appeared in the open country of Burdwan; and now began the confusion which destroyed the government. All the dependant Rajahs and land-holders west of the Ganges from north to south were in arms; some joined the Prince; all withheld their rents; the Purrhunean too became more bold in his rebellion, and threatened Patna; and, to complete the scene, a body of 10,000 Mharatta horse entered by Cuttack, and laid waste the southern countries, threatening a junction with the enemy.

Our army followed the Prince over the mountains, while the rest of our troops from Calcutta joined the Nabob, and marched to meet them; which having executed, they soon after came up with the enemy; but, instead of pushing to close action, we cannonaded at a distance, with a river between us; and the enemy, hopeless of victory against such a superior force, returned the same way they came over the mountains.

The government was now obliged to make head every way against the Prince, who, by a junction with the Purrhunean rebel, might

might become more formidable than ever against the Mharatta and rebel Rajahs, labouring at the same time under the insuperable difficulties of an exhausted treasury, and the most fruitful provinces became the scene of war.

Detachments were sent to suppress the rebels, and make head against the Mharattas; in which services Major York, Capt. White, and Mr. Johnstone gained great honour.

The 22d of May 1760, a detachment of 200 picked men, and 700 Seapoys, with 300 Black horse, was sent under Capt. Knox to cover Patna, and prevent the junction of the Prince with the Purrhunean rebel. He found the Prince, joined by Mr. Law and 70 Frenchmen, besieging Patna; he forced him to raise the siege, then crossed the Ganges, and posted himself so as to prevent the armies uniting. In this service he was attacked by the whole Purrhunean force, consisting of 7000 horse, 5000 infantry, and 20 pieces of cannon. He stood four charges of the horse, in which they cut down many of his men in their ranks, and a cannonading of the whole day; in the evening the enemy retreated, leaving 400 men on the field of battle, three elephants, many horses, and eight pieces of cannon. This victory, obtained with the loss of only 16 Europeans and 50 Seapoys, restored our military reputation, and effected all the purposes expected from it. The Prince retired to the north, and the Purrhunean rebel pushed for the mountains. Our main body, joined by the young Nabob, were now in the Purrhunean country, and within a forced march of the Purrhunean rebel, when on the 20th of July the young Nabob, sleeping in his tent, was struck dead by a flash of lightning. This put an end to all operations; the rains were set in, the rivers swelled, and the armies went into quarters.

Thus terminated this unhappy campaign; the misfortunes attending it are to be ascribed solely to the ill use we made of our first victory, and
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instead of pursuing the enemy, suffering them to pass into the southern provinces. The bad effects were yet to come; a thousand cares pressed on the unhappy Nabob, at a time his mind was distracted with grief for the loss of his son. He had no other child grown up to manhood, and the barrier was broke through that secured him against all attempts on his life and government, which no one would have attempted while there was a successor to revenge his death. This was the situation of affairs when Mr. Vansittart arrived in Bengal, and took the chair. How changed from what Lord Clive left it!

The unhappy Soubah pressed on every side for money; some provinces were in rebellion; others had been the scene of war; nothing to answer the great demands, but the countries to the east of the Ganges, in which the province of Purrhunea was excepted; his troops mutinying, and his friends the English pressing harder than any: For now the Company's distresses almost equalled his. The mortgaged provinces paid little or no revenue; the Soubah was much in arrear to our troops, and no money from Europe. The gentlemen of Fort St. George wrote pressing for money, declaring they could not carry on the war without it. There was an investment to be provided, and a large army to pay.

At this juncture the Nabob's son-in-law came down on a visit to the governor, and to consult with him on the distresses of the state. The gentlemen of the secret committee seemed determined to have him appointed Duan, or Minister. With this view the annexed treaty was made; the sequel of this distressful scene will be learned from Mr. Vansittart's Apology, which is annexed, and the protest of the council has already been published.

Cosim Aly Chan, a man of more abilities than his predecessor (but let the fable of the frogs be remembered) applied himself to restoring

storing order to his finances ; but what facilitated his measures was the happy success of our arms.

Colonel Caillaud being applied for from the coast of Coromandel, the command devolved on Major Camac, who took the field in December with 500 Europeans, three battalions of Seapoys, and a small body of troops belonging to the Soubah. The Shahzada, supported by the rebel Boujepore Rajahs, forming an army of 10,000 horse and 10,000 infantry, with 10 pieces of cannon, and Mr. Law's party of 70 Frenchmen, were already in the field. The Major pressed forward to meet the enemy, fought and defeated them the 15th of January (the Nabob's troops having no share either in the action or pursuit) ; he took prisoner Law and his party. The next day he continued the pursuit ; the following the enemy dispersed, and the Mogul delivered himself into our hands. The same success attended our arms against the rebel Rajahs, who were entirely reduced by Majors York and White ; and in February there was not a man in arms in the three provinces. All this was to the advantage of our new alliance ; but a yet greater one was our giving up our brave and faithful friend Ramnaran. By this we lost the only check we could have on the Nabob ; by this we lost the confidence of all the country powers—I fear it was one of the unhappy effects of the disputes among our own great men ; for the deposing Mir Jaffier had formed two irreconcilable parties in the council and settlement ; and to add to this misfortune, the directors rashly and imprudently turned out their best servants.

The Nabob, not knowing how soon he might quarrel with his new friends, retired from his capital to a strong fort 300 miles from Calcutta early in 1761, where he occupied himself in attending to his finances, and forming an army on our model. For this purpose he received our Seapoys and their officers into his service to teach his troops our discipline, made a vast quantity of firelocks instead of match-

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locks, and a good train of field-artillery. Much dispute arose between us respecting certain incroachments in trade, which he complained of, and checked by force. Mr. Vansittart, unwilling to repel force by force, went up to visit the Nabob, and adjust these disputes. He concluded a treaty, which his council refused to ratify. There was indeed one imprudent, nay very dangerous article, the submitting our servants to the Nabob's courts. This could not fail of being productive of violent disputes, if not an open war. The council called upon the chiefs of the out-factories who had seats at the board, over-ruled the governor, and sent a deputation, consisting of Mr. Amyott the second, and some other gentlemen, to demand more favourable terms. The Nabob, now grown powerful by a full treasury and a large army, asserted the validity of the first treaty, and in consequence seized on some boats near Patna for the duties. The English chief there repelled force by force, and a skirmish ensued, which terminated in the capture of Patna, which they again lost the next day, and all our troops were either killed or taken prisoners. Unhappily for Mr. Amyott, he was not yet out of the Nabob's reach; a party overtook him, murdered him and Mr. Woolaston, both gentlemen of very amiable characters, and the rest were taken prisoners. On advice of this Mir Jaffier was proclaimed, and Major Adams, then commanding officer, took the field. By the last advices our army, with Mir Jaffier, was in possession of the capital, and troops were on their march from Fort St. George. As soon as the rivers fall, an action must decide whether Mir Jaffier is Nabob, or the English drove out of the country.

Thus much of the conduct of the servants. The directors have no less contributed to the present unhappy situation of the company's affairs; a spirit of violence has been predominant in that direction since the year 1758. The servants of Bengal were the objects of their resentment; for having set aside their appointment of four governors, and chose of their own authority an officer to succeed Colonel Clive
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in the command of the troops, they requested Colonel Clive to take the government, and Colonel Ford the command of the troops. Actuated therein by a sincere zeal for the publick good, the conduct of both these gallant officers sufficiently evinced the justice of their choice, but could not justify them in the sight of the directors. Colonel Ford, who had routed the French out of four provinces, in a campaign which gained him immortal honour, who had since defeated the Dutch against a superiority of almost three to one, was superseded; neglected too at home, he lost his Majesty's service. Even Colonel Clive, to whom the Company owed their preservation, could not escape uninjured; and they wrote a letter filled with the basest accusations, I believe I may venture to say, not one of them founded in truth; and that nothing might be wanting to exasperate their servants, they superseded in a variety of instances those old servants who had borne the heat of the day, and whose counsels had contributed to the flourishing state of the Company's affairs.

Thus abused, thus superseded, seven of the principal gentlemen flung up the service; not even the government could tempt them. I know they say, "You were rich, and wanted an excuse to deny the fact." Many were in very moderate circumstances, and their fortunes dispersed in trade over India. They wrote the following letter, for which all who signed it were dismissed the service.

LETTER

LETTER.

HAVING fully spoken to every branch of your affairs at this presidency under the established heads, we cannot (consistent with the real anxiety we feel for the future welfare of that respectable body for whom you and we are in trust) close this address without expostulating with freedom on the unprovoked and general asperity of your letters per Prince Henry packet. Our sentiments on this head will, we doubt not, acquire additional weight from the consideration of their being subscribed by a majority of your council, who are at this period quitting your service, and consequently independent and disinterested. Permit us to say, that the diction of your letter is most unworthy yourselves and us, in whatever relations considered, either as masters to servants, or gentlemen to gentlemen. Mere inadvertencies, casual neglects (arising from an unavoidable and most complicated confusion in the state of your affairs) have been treated in such language and sentiments, as nothing but the most glaring and premeditated frauds could warrant. Groundless informations, without further scrutiny, have borne with you the stamp of truth, though proceeding from those who had therein obviously their own purposes to serve, no matter at whose expence. These have received from you such countenance and encouragement, as must most assuredly tend to cool the warmest zeal of your servants, here and every where else; as they will appear to have been only the source of general reflections, thrown out at random against your faithful servants of this Presidency, in various parts of your letter now before us. Faithful to little purpose, if the breath of scandal, joined to private pique and personal attachments, have power to blow away, in one hour, the merits of many years services, and deprive them of that rank, and those rising benefits, which are justly a spur to their integrity and application. The little attention shewn to these considerations, in the indiscriminate favours heaped on some individuals, and undeserved frowns

frowns on others, will, we apprehend, lessen that spirited zeal so very essential to the well-being of your affairs, and consequently in the end, if continued, prove the destruction of them. Private views may, and it is much to be feared will, take the lead here from examples at home, and no gentleman hold your service longer, nor exert themselves further in it, than their own exigencies require. This being the real present state of your service, it becomes strictly our duty to represent it in the strongest light, or we should with little truth, and less propriety, subscribe ourselves,

May it please your Honours,

Your most faithful and most

Obedient humble servants,

Robert Clive,

Charles Manningham,

Richard Becher,

William Frankland,

Ino. Zeph. Holwell,

William Macket,

Thomas Boddam,

Charles Staff. Playdell,

William B. Sumner,

William M'Gwyre,

John Cooke.

What measures are now pursuing? Why they are turning out another council for differing in sentiment with respect to the revolution in 1760, at a time too when either Mir Jaffier is Nabob, or the English drove out of the country; and send for a governor, an inferior from another settlement, who must come down totally ignorant of the affairs of Bengal, and will find the whole settlement unite in distressing him; for they will not submit to such injustice. The man who deposed Mir Jaffier too is to go in the command of the troops in prejudice of Major Carnac, who is dismissed, in reward for his faithful and successful services. What can this tend to! but to bring contempt on the authority of the directors by the abuse of it, and to produce more revolutions abroad, and involve the country and company's property in irretrievable confusion.

A general court is now called, on whose decisions the fate of the company will depend. It is to be hoped every proprietor will reflect on the duty he owes to himself and to his country, and remember if these growing evils are not now checked, impending ruin threatens this valuable branch of our national commerce.

Since the above came to the press, an anonymous pamphlet has appeared; in which the author says the attack of the Shahzada was deferred to the 22d; because the Nabob had been told the stars were not propitious, that he could not pursue the enemy for want of a body of horse, which the young Nabob refused him.

I beg leave to inform him, that the preceding year our army (then much inferior to the one commanded by Colonel Caillaud) made the same enemy fly before them. That having out-marched the troops under the young Nabob, they forced the enemy to raise the siege of Patna, and pursued them over the Curumnassa, the boundary of the Nabob's dominions, without regarding the motions of the young Nabob,

bob, whose army was never deemed of any other use than to prevent harrassing, and cutting off our convoys of provisions.

The year 1761, Major Carnac defeated the same enemy, superior in numbers, and joined by a party of French; and in a few days he put a total end to the war, with no Black army to assist him in the action, nor in the pursuit.

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TWO TREATIES have been made of the same date, and reciprocally exchanged, containing the articles under-mentioned, between Mir Mahmud Cossin Cawn Bahadre, and the Nabob Shumso Dowla Bahadre (or Mr. Vansittart) governor, and the rest of the council for the affairs of the English company, and during the life of Mir Mahmud Cossin Cawn Bahadre, and the duration of the factories of the English company in this country, this agreement shall remain in force. God is witness between us, that the following articles shall in no-wise be infringed by either party.

ARTICLE I.

THE Subah Mir Mahmud Jaffier Cawn Bahadre shall continue in possession of his dignities, and all affairs be transacted in his name, and a suitable income shall be allowed for his expences.

ARTICLE II.

The Neabut (or deputyship) of the Subadaree of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, &c. shall be conferred by his excellency the Subah on Mir Mahmud Cossin Cawn Bahadre; he shall be vested with the administration of all affairs of the provinces. And after his excellency's death, he shall succeed to the government.

ARTICLE III.

Between us and Mir Mahmud Cossin Cawn Bahadre firm friendship and union is established. His enemies are our enemies, and his friends are our friends.

ARTICLE

ARTICLE IV.

Between us and Mir Mahmud Cawn Bahadre. The Europeans and Tilingas (or Seapoys) of the English army shall be always ready with their lives to assist the Nabob Mir Mahmud Cawn Bahadre against all his enemies.

ARTICLE V.

For all charges of the said army and provisions for the field, &c. the lands of Burdwan and Midnepoor and Chittigong shall be assigned, and sunnuds for that purpose shall be written and granted. The company is to stand to all losses, and receive all the profits of these three countries; and we shall demand no more than the three assignments aforesaid.

ARTICLE VI.

One half of the Chunan (lime for building) produced at Silhet for three years shall be purchased by the Gomastah of the company from the people of the government, at the customary rate of that place. The inhabitants of that place shall receive no injury.

ARTICLE VII.

The balance of the former tuncaws shall be paid according to the Kistbundee (or times of payment) agreed upon by the Royran' (or king's minister for receiving the revenue). The jewels which have been pledged shall be received back again.

ARTICLE VIII.

We will not allow the tenants of the Sircar (or government) to settle in the lands of the English company; neither shall the tenants of the company be allowed to settle in the lands of the Sircar.

ARTICLE IX.

We will give no protection to the dependants of the Sircar in the lands or in the factories of the company; neither shall any protection

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be given to the dependants of the company in the lands of the Sircar ; and whoever shall fly to either party for refuge shall be given up.

ARTICLE X.

The measures for war or peace with the Shahzada, and raising supplies of money, and the concluding both these points, shall be weighed in the scale of reason, and whatever is judged expedient shall be put in execution ; and it shall be contrived by the joint councils, that he be removed from the country, nor suffered to get any footing in it, whether there be peace or war with the Shahzada or not. Our agreement with Mir Mahmud Cossin Cawn Bahadre we will (by the grace of God) inviolably observe, as long as the English company's factories continue in this country. Dated the 17th of the month Siffer, in the year 1174 of the Hegirah, and the 15th September 1760.

Signed,

Manual of Mir Mahmud Cossin Cawn.

This was sealed on the 18th of the month of Siffer, in the 1174th year of the Hegirah, and the Proposals are agreed to.

ARTICLE VII.

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ARTICLE IX.

A MEMORIAL, setting forth the Causes of the last
Change in the Subahship of Bengal.

THE Subah Jaffier Aly Cawn was of a temper extremely tyrannical and avaricious, at the same time very indolent; and the people about him being either abject slaves and flatterers, or else the base instruments of his vices, there was no chance of his having the affairs of the government properly conducted but by their removal. He attributed the ill success of his affairs to imaginary plots and contrivances, and sacrificed lives without mercy to the excess of his jealousy. Numberless are the instances of men of all degrees, whose blood he has spilt without the least reason assigned. To learn the names and circumstances of all of these sufferers, would be a work of time; but some of the most striking examples are the following:

Coja Haddee, the first Buxey (or paymaster) first banished for a pretended conspiracy against the Subah's life, and afterwards banished and killed at Shahbad, in his march out of the province.

Mir Cazim, the second Buxey, invited by the Chutta (or young) Nabob to his house, and after having received from him unusual marks of affection, assassinated at the gates of his palace.

Abdel O Hub Cawn, murdered at the Rumna (the Subah's hunting-seat) in the month of March 1760, by some of the Hircarras (or spies) belonging to Cheron (the head spy) who waylaid him for that purpose by the Subah's orders.

Yar Mahmud, formerly in great favour with the Subah Suraja Dowla, and since Droga of the Emarast (or surveyor of the buildings) slain in the presence of the Chutta Nabob, in the month of April 1760.

Gaffela, the Begum (or widow) of the Nabob Shamut Jung Novagis Mahmud Cawn.

Bnma, Begum, mother to Suraja Dowla.

Murada Dowla, the Son of Padsha Coolly Cawn, adopted by Shamut Jung.

Lutfen Nyfa, Begum (widow) of Suraja Dowla.

The infant daughters of Suraja Dowla.

These five unhappy sufferers mentioned last perished all in one night, at Dacca, about the month of June 1760, where they had been detained prisoners since the accession of Jaffer Aly Cawn to the Subahship. A pervannah (or order) was sent to Jaffer Cawn, the Nabob of Dacca, to put to death all the survivors of the family of the Nabobs Allworde Cawn, Shamut Jung, and Suraja Dowla; but upon his declining to obey so cruel an order, the messenger, who had private instructions to execute this tragedy, in case of the others refusal, took them from the place of their confinement, and having carried them out at midnight upon the river, massacred and drowned them, with about twenty women of inferior note, their attendants. What became of Alliver de Cawn's widow is uncertain; it being reported that she escaped the fate of the rest of her family.

Executions

Executions of this kind had made the Subah the dread and detestation of all good men, and he necessarily became a prey to people of mean extraction, and abject dispositions, who knowing that a government so managed could not stand long, sought only to make themselves rich by oppressions of all sorts upon the country and inhabitants. To the heavy taxes laid by them on the markets is ascribed the present unusual scarcity and dearness of provisions at the city, the capital of a country once esteemed the most plentiful in the world.

The persons who have had the chief share in this bad management are Kianoram, Mohlob, and Checon, all of low birth, and the two first the menial servants of Jaffier Aly Cawn before he came to the Subahship; these managed so as to engage him continually in idle and vicious amusements, keeping him by that means in utter ignorance of his affairs, and in a state of indifference as to their success. No money came into his treasury; at the same time nothing was paid to his army; inasmuch that his troops mutinied, and surrounded his palace in a tumultuous manner, threatening to take away his life; which they would certainly have done, had not his son-in-law, the present Subah Cossim Aly Cawn, become answerable, and paid them a large sum out of his own treasury. This happened last June; and if the imminent danger with which his person was threatened on this occasion awakened him for a moment, no sooner was it again removed to a distance, than he fell back into the lethargy which had so long possessed him. The same unworthy ministers remained still his only counsellors, and continued in the management of his affairs to the last day of his administration; which he left in so confused and impoverished a state, that, in all human appearance, another month would hardly have run thro' before he would have been cut off by his own Seapoys, and the city become a scene of plunder and disorder, the Nabob having made no provision for the payment of the long

arrears due to his people, after Cossim Aly Cawn had freed him from his former extremity. This danger he could not but foresee, and more than once declared his apprehensions; yet had not the power to exert the necessary means for preventing it, but sunk the deeper into dejection.

Besides this intestine danger to which the government was exposed, two armies were in the field, and waiting only for the fair weather to advance; the Shahzada towards Patna, and the Beerboon Rajah towards Muxadavad, the capital. The Rajahs of Bisslonpoor, Rangies, and the other countries bordering upon the mountains, were ready to shake off their dependence, and had already offered considerable supplies to the Beerboon Rajah. The Rajah of Cur-ruch had committed open hostilities, and taken possession of all the country about Bogglepoor, which intirely stopped the communication between the two provinces on that side of the river. In a word, the whole country seemed ripe for an universal revolt; those parts only excepted whose natural weakness, or neighbourhood with the city, intimidated them from taking up arms. To encounter all these difficulties, there was nothing but troops without pay, from whom therefore no great efforts could be expected. Of this a very recent instance occurs, in the detachment that was ordered against the Beerboon Rajah, three months before the Subah abdicated, but never advanced above three Coss (or six miles) from the city; in which situation they continued on my arrival there.

All who are now in Bengal, and acquainted with the transactions of the government, will bear witness that this is a true description of facts; and all who are convinced of the facts, will certainly agree that affairs were at an extremity no longer to be neglected without manifest danger of having the provinces over-run, and the trade intirely ruined. I was resolved therefore to use my utmost endea-

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vours to get these bad ministers removed; and judging that it might be difficult to prevail on the Subah to part with his favourites without some degree of violence, I brought with me a detachment of Europeans and Seapoys, under a pretence of sending them with Colonel Caillaud to reinforce the army at Patna.

I arrived with the Colonel at Cassimbuzar the 14th Oct. and the next Day the Subah paid us a visit. The 16th we went to the city, and returned the visit. On the 18th the Subah came from Mauraubaug, being by appointment to talk upon business. In the conversation I had with him in the two former meetings, I had taken occasion to represent to him in general terms the bad management of his ministers, and universal disaffection of the country, and the desperate state of his as well as the Company's affairs. In order to give him a more full and clear view of the evils brought on through the weakness of his administration, and to point out the means for their removal, I had prepared three letters, which, after a short and friendly introduction, I delivered to him, of which translations are hereunto annexed, N^o 1, 2, and 3.

The Subah seemed much affected by the perusal of these letters, but endeavoured more to put an end to the conference than to propose a remedy to the evils. I however prevailed on him to send for his dinner to Mauraubaug, and in a manner insisted on his coming to some determination for the immediate reformation of the government. At length he confessed himself, through age and grief for the late loss of his son, incapable of struggling alone against so many difficulties; he desired he might have time to consult with his friends. I told him, the men with whom he had lately advised were not his friends, but his greatest enemies; that his returning again into the midst of them could only be the means of augmenting his difficulties; that he had much better take the assistance of
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one from amongst his relations, on whose true attachment and fidelity he might more safely rely. He named five or six, and amongst them Cossim Aly Cawn. I asked him which of that number was most fit to assist him in his present exigencies? He replied without hesitation, that Cossim Aly Cawn was the most proper; nevertheless it was with the utmost difficulty I could prevail on him to send for him, and so very late, that before Cossim Aly Cawn could arrive, the old Nabob was so extremely fatigued, and in such a state of anxiety, that I could not refuse his return home to take his rest. I was convinced indeed it was to no purpose to detain him; for such was the jealousy he discovered with respect to Cossim Aly Cawn, that I saw he would never consent without some sort of force to give the other the means of restoring order to his affairs. An hour or two after the Subah's departure, Cossim Aly Cawn arrived at Mauraubaug, and seemed to be extremely apprehensive that the Subah, instead of trusting him with the management of his affairs, would endeavour by some means or other to get rid of him. I agreed therefore in opinion with him, that he should not go to the Subah's palace until measures were taken for his security. We resolved therefore to give the Nabob the next day, the 19th, to reflect upon the letters before-mentioned, in hopes that he would propose some means of regulation. I heard nothing from him all day, but found by my intelligence that he had been in council with his old advisers Kianoram, Mohlob, and Checon, whose advice I was sure would be contrary to the welfare of the country in general, and that of the Company in particular. I determined to act immediately on the Subah's fears; there could not be a better opportunity than the night of the 19th afforded, it being the conclusion of the Gentoo feast, when all the principal people of that cast would be pretty well fatigued with their ceremonies. Accordingly I agreed with Colonel Caillaud that he should cross the river with the detachment between three and four in the morning, and, having joined Cossim Aly Cawn

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and his people, march to the Subah's palace, and surround it just at day-break, being extremely desirous to prevent any disturbance or bloodshed. I wrote a letter to the Subah, and delivered it to the Colonel, to send it to him at such a time as he should think most expedient. Measures were taken at the same time for seizing the persons of Kinnooram, Monelol, and Checon, my Intention being only to remove those unworthy ministers, and place Cossim Aly Cawn, with full management of all the affairs, in quality of deputy and successor to the Subah. The necessary preparations being accordingly made with all the care and secrecy possible, the Colonel embarked with the troops, joined Cossim Aly Cawn without the least alarm, and marched into the court-yard of the palace, just at the proper instant, the gates of the inner court being shut. The Colonel formed his men without, and sent my letter to the Subah, who was at first in a great rage, and threatened he would make what resistance he could, and take his fate. The Colonel forbore all hostilities, and several messages passed between him and the Subah. The affair remained in this doubtful state about two hours, when the Subah, finding his persisting was to no purpose, sent a message to Cossim Aly Cawn, informing him he was ready to send him the seals, and all the ensigns of dignity, and to order the Nobet (or great drum) to be beat in his name, provided he would agree to take the whole charge of the government upon him, to discharge all the arrears due to the troops, to pay the usual revenues to the king, to save his life and honour, and give him an allowance sufficient for his maintenance. All these conditions being agreed to, Cossim Aly Cawn was proclaimed; and the old Subah came out to the Colonel, declaring that he depended on him for his life. The troops then took possession of all the gates; and notice being sent to me immediately, I repaired to the palace, and was met by the old Subah in the gate-way. He asked me if his person was safe, which seemed now to be all his concern. I told him, that not only his

Person was safe, but his government too if he pleased, of which it was never intended to deprive him. The Subah answered, that he had no more business in the city, that he should be in continual danger from Cossim Aly Cawn; and that if he was permitted to go and live in Calcutta, he should be extremely happy. Though I could not help lamenting his sudden fall, I was not sorry for this proposal, as I knew affairs would be much better managed without him; and his retaining a share of the authority, however small, could not fail to create such perplexities as might prove, in so critical and dangerous a conjuncture, of the utmost consequence to the administration. Cossim Aly Cawn was accordingly seated on the Musnand, and I paid him my congratulations in the usual form. All the Jemidars (or general officers) and persons of distinction at the city, came immediately and made their acknowledgments to the new Subah; and in the evening every thing was perfectly quiet, as if there had been no change. The people in general seemed much pleased with this revolution; which had this particular felicity attending it, that it was brought about without the least disturbance in the town, or a drop of blood spilt.

The Subah did not think himself safe enough for one night in the city. Cossim Aly Cawn supplied him with boats, and permitted him to take away as many of his women as he desired (which he did to the number of about sixty) with a reasonable quantity of jewels. I furnished him with a strong escort of Europeans and Sepoys, and intended to lodge him at Herageib (a palace below the city) but he would not trust himself there, and begged he might sleep in his boats, close to Mauraubaug. The next day and in the evening I visited him with Colonel Caillaud; he appeared then pretty easy, and reconciled with the loss of a power which he owned to be rather a burden than a pleasure, and too much for his abilities to manage since the death of his son; and the enjoyment of the rest
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of his days in security, under the English protection, seemed to be the chief object of his wishes.

On the morning of the 22d he set out for Calcutta, and arrived there the 29th; he was met by a deputation from the council, and treated with every mark of respect due to his former dignity.

Translation of an Address presented to the Subah Jaffier Aly Cawn by the Governor, dated the 18th October 1760.

No I.

WHEN I was at Madras Colonel Clive frequently wrote to me upon the state of affairs of this country, and told me, that whenever he quitted the country to return to Europe, he would procure my appointment to the government. The friendship and connections between your Excellency and the Colonel are well known to me, and I hoped to have found all affairs carried intirely according to the treaty; but what I observed on my arrival, I shall now lay before you particularly.

First, The English Forces employed in your Service, and in the support of your government at Azamabad (or Patna) are kept without their pay.

Secondly, The forces of the Sircar, who are stationed in these parts, are discontented and dissatisfied to the service for want of their pay.

Thirdly, The Seapoys of Muxadavad had surrounded the palace in a tumultuous manner for the arrears of their pay, and endangered your life. How deeply was I affected, cannot be expressed; God is witness what I felt on that occasion.

Fourthly,

Fourthly, I plainly perceive the ministers of this court, from their covetous and base dispositions, had set aside all justice, were plundering the poor without cause, and doing what they pleased, not even with-holding their hands from the lives of the people, destroying the subjects, and bringing ruin and desolation on the country.

Fifthly, The scarcity of provisions, &c. is so great as was never before known in this country, insomuch that the people of all degrees are in the greatest distress. This can be owing to no other cause than the bad management of your ministers.

Sixthly, Formerly, at the desire of the English company, a mint was established in Calcutta, and it was your order that the Siccas (name of the coin) of Calcutta, of the same weight and fineness with the Siccas of Muxadavad, should pass for equal value, notwithstanding your Parwaannah for enforcing of this grant, the officers of the King's Province have not suffered them to pass, but, though contrary to your order, require and insist on a Batta (loss of exchange) on the Siccas.

Seventhly, The war with the Shahzada still continues, notwithstanding the sums expended, and the endeavours of the English company. This affair is yet no nearer to a conclusion than the first day. Excepting the Killa of Azamabad, no part of the province of Patna remains in your possession; all the lands and villages in a state of ruin, and the Jamidars in every place are ready to join the Shahzada's army, as appears from the letter to me to this purpose from Beerboon. From these circumstances it evidently appears to me, that all the difficulties came to pass after the death of your son, the late Chutta Nabob, from which time the ministers of the Sircar, regarding only their

their own interest, neglect the good of the country, and the welfare of the subjects, and employ themselves in oppressing the poor, in rapine, violence, injustice, and iniquity.

When I saw the affairs of the Sircar (or government) in the hands of such faithless and unworthy men, and every thing tending still further to ruin, I lifted up my eyes to heaven, and bewailed my strange fate, that Providence should send me into this country at such a time, and in the midst of such calamities, when the dignity of the Nabob, the reputation of the Company, and the prosperity of the country are almost expired. After long consideration I concluded, that I would make one vigorous trial immediately to remedy all these evils, hoping, by God's assistance, to surmount all difficulties. For this reason I am come with great joy into your presence, and am happy in paying you my respects.

N^o. II.

Translation of an ADDRESS presented to the Soubah Jaffier Aly Cawn by the Governor, dated 18th Oct. 1760.

THE ministers that are about your person, and who transact your business, are people that are ever wavering and changeable in their counsels, as is evident from Perwannahs you frequently sent me, complaining of the bad conduct and wicked intentions of Maha Rajah Bullub (his late son's minister) insisting upon his being recalled by some means or other. The Colonel, considering the situation of affairs at that time, recommended Maha Rajah Bullub to you, and you sent me a copy of it in a letter which you did me the honour to write to me, and said you was surprized that the Colonel would recommend a man so very unfit for every business. You also sent me word, by the Nabob Mir Mahmud Cossim Cawn and the Roy Rain, that the business of the most consequence was to get

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Maha Rajah Bullub down from Patna. I therefore, agreeable to your desire, wrote to Mr. Amyatt to send him down. God only knows what counsel your ministers gave that the Perwannah was deferred being sent; but that is the true cause of the troubles now at Patna. It is a known maxim, that a government where the councils change every day cannot be well regulated.

N^o. III.

Translation of a LETTER presented to the Subah Jaffier Aly Cawn by the Governor, dated 18th October 1760.

THE important affairs of the regulation of which I have waited upon you, are submitted to your consideration in a separate address containing seven articles. Now that I am here, this is the time for opening the door of the difficulties therein mentioned, which is only to be effected by the key of your enlightened wisdom. If this opportunity is lost, another will hardly occur when we can meet together so conveniently; besides the particulars I have taken notice of, and the payment of arrears due to the English troops, and those it is necessary to make a large provision for future exigencies. You have already given in pledge jewels for a large amount, to be discharged by different payments, agreed and signed to in your hand. How this sum is to be paid, unless the country is settled, I do not perceive; the pay allowed for the English army has been settled to one Laack of Rupees per month. As the disturbances in the country have increased every day, for that reason large sums have been expended in bringing soldiers from Europe and Madras, and in raising Seapoys; on this account a Laack of Rupees is by no means sufficient. Let your Excellency only reflect that your own Seapoys, in the time of extremity, preferring their own safety, have joined with the forces of the enemy; and the English forces, devoted to your service intirely and the destruction of your enemies, never were guilty of such a conduct, nor
never

never will ; and, by the blessing of God, wherever the English standard has been fixed they have always proved victorious. Upon this account it is by no means becoming your wisdom to neglect such brave men, or to deny them their due rewards. It is necessary that for this business your Excellency grant the English company certain lands sufficient for the disbursement of the pay of the troops, the expence of the artillery, and the provision of stores, &c. that without any trouble to yourself all their charges may be defrayed from the produce of these lands, and our arms always ready to be employed in your service, otherwise I must submit to necessity. My concern for my own honour will not suffer me to be unmoved for the Company's loss ; but I must seek some expedient for promoting the interest of the Company, and removing the evils they are oppressed with ; and these expedients must be adopted. But if your affliction for the death of your son has taken that hold upon your mind, that you cannot attend to the remedying of such great difficulties, it is proper you appoint some capable person from amongst your relations in the place and dignity of your said son the Nabob Nafirod Moolk, who may take charge of all those affairs, regulate the business of the country, and remove all those difficulties ; that your Excellency, freed from all troubles and fatigues of the transactions, may remain without care and uneasiness, and the shadow of your protection over-spread the whole.

* * The Purrhunean Nabob is the governor of a province to the east of the Ganges, dependent on the Nabob of Bengal.

F I N I S.

